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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS FROM  
"SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA"

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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS FROM  
"SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA"

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THE FORMATION OF NEW CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES IN THE LIFE  
OF LATVIAN KOLKHOZ WORKERS

[Following is the translation of an article by L. N. Terent'yeva in Sovetskaya etnografiya (Soviet Ethnography), Moscow, No 2, March-April 1961, pages 110-115.]

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The twenty years which have passed since the establishment of Soviet authority in Latvia are notable not only for the grandiose transformations in the area of economy and culture in the Republic but for the basic changes which have taken place in the attitudes and mode of life of the people. In particular this is manifested in the active role of atheism and consolidation of new and non-religious ways of life. The break with religion and the church is revealed with great clarity both among the urban and rural population of the Latvian SSR. This article presents materials characterizing this process among the peasants, chiefly in those rural regions of Latvia where the population professed the Lutheran faith. (For several years the author has made ethnographical studies chiefly in these regions of Latvia). For many Latvian peasants the conscious transition to a position of atheism was a logical completion of a process which began long ago of exodus from religion and the church. Others have come to this only now, under conditions of socialism, as a result of a re-assessment of their views and great inner struggle. Together with this there are many peasants who even formerly, under the bourgeoisie system, and some of them even under tsarism, were convinced atheists. The struggle to overcome religious survivals and the consolidation of scientific-atheist views has occupied an important place in the system of the Communist education of the workers of the Latvian SSR since the first days of establishment of Soviet authority in Latvia (1940). The Communist

Party and the Soviet government of Latvia took measures to weaken the influence of the church: a decree was issued which provided for separation of church and state, the teaching of religion was removed from school curricula, the theological faculty of the Latvian State University was closed down, etc. However, in such a short period of time, less than a year, up to the beginning of the Second World War, naturally it was impossible to achieve any significant change in the attitudes of the peasants, particularly that section of the peasantry which at that time was still in the category of believers.

During the War the Lutheran and Catholic churches once again, as under the authority of the bourgeoisie, acquired unlimited opportunities to exert ideological influence on the population of Latvia, occupied by German-Fascist troops. Together with this, the reactionary role of the church and its clerical fathers was revealed with particular clarity. The latter circumstance played an important role in changing the relations of the peasants to religion, shaking the faith in God even of those who up to that time had blindly followed religious dogma. During the first post-war years and particularly in the initial period of agricultural collectivization (1949-1950) a mighty class struggle took place. Survivals of capitalist elements of society -- bourgeois nationalists and kulaks -- endeavored to oppose the consolidation of the socialist method of production in agriculture with all means at their command. In their agitation they found support among the representatives of the Lutheran and Catholic clergy. Facts were known which implicated the clergy in bandit raids. Some Catholic priests and pastors attempted to recruit young people for this, some of whom even at that time were under the influence of the church. The Communist Party of Latvia and the government of the Latvian SSR, simultaneously with measures to suppress armed raids by class enemies, carried out under these complicated conditions large-scale and comprehensive educational work, particularly in the village, a fact which exerted a tremendous positive influence on speeding up the process of forming up-to-date ideology on the part of the Latvian peasantry. Only 10 years have passed since the kolkhoz system became consolidated in Latvia, but what basic changes have taken place during this short period in the religious attitudes of the Latvian kolkhoz peasantry! Recent independent farmers, clinging tenaciously to their bit of land, dissociated by competition, as well as former farm hands and landless peasants, now have become a single harmonious collective. The development of socialist consciousness on the part of kolkhoz members was manifested in their thrifty attitude toward community property, in their

active participation in common labor, in their mastery of the latest methods of farming which are assuring high productivity. There are already many Heroes of Socialist Labor among the Latvian kolkhoz workers as well as persons who have been awarded orders and medals.

Another feature which determines the religious attitudes of the collective farmers of Latvia is their active participation in the country's public-political life. The best indicator of the unwavering increase in political maturity and public activities on the part of peasants is the growth of rural Party and Komsomol organizations. In 1949-1950, when the collectivization of agriculture was taking place in the Republic, each volost had only one Party organization, with very few members (5 - 6 persons), while at present the Party organizations, considerably greater in membership, can be found on every kolkhoz or sovkhaz. The same holds true for Komsomol organizations. A large and solid Party-Komsomol activist group has formed in the villages of Latvia, which stands at the vanguard of public-political, production and cultural life of the village. A large rural Soviet activist group had sprung up through the years -- these are deputies to the village Soviets and rayon Soviet executive committees, members of kolkhoz boards, etc. Many rank and file kolkhoz workers are being elected to the Republic organs of Soviet authority or are being drawn to public participation in their activities. The cultural level of the kolkhoz peasantry has risen tremendously, their horizons have expanded as has the scope of their intellectual interests. Obligatory seven year schooling is being carried out successfully and the transition has begun to eight year schooling. The great majority of young people are continuing their education after completing seven- or eight-year schools. The high level of mechanization of agriculture and its operations on the basis of scientific agro-technology have required the training of a large number of machinery operators and agricultural specialists. These include many women. Thanks to the expansion of the school system, cultural-educational institutions (clubs, recreation and reading rooms, houses of culture, libraries) and the opening by rural Soviets and kolkhozes of institutions of healing (hospitals, dispensaries, medical service facilities) the rural intelligentsia stratum has grown significantly larger. Differing from the bourgeois system, when dissociation of the various social strata was specially cultivated, under Soviet conditions close contact has been maintained in the way of life of the representatives of the various social groups. Now families are no longer a rarity whereby either the husband or wife

is a rank and file kolkhoz worker and the other -- is a member of the village intelligentsia. There are also many kolkhoz families in which the young members have completed their university education or are now studying in the colleges of Latvia or other Republics in the USSR. The fact that kolkhoz families contain persons who are engaged in intellectual labor is exerting a noticeable influence on the mores and folkways of the family and is furthering a more rapid elimination of outmoded views, habits and harmful traditions.

An indicator of the expanded intellectual demands on the part of the village population is its active participation in cultural-educational work. Lecture groups have been formed in village palaces of culture. The lecturers are teachers, physicians, agricultural specialists, as well as the village's Party-Komsomol activists. The lectures, read on general political, agricultural, medical, literary and scientific atheist subjects, are actively attended by the village inhabitants. Village libraries are extremely popular. The great majority of kolkhoz workers subscribe to newspapers and magazines (many subscribe to two, three and more at a time), and there are well newspapers in all kolkhozes. The radio is accessible to all in the villages of Latvia, and in recent years television sets have become commonplace. Collective farm amateur performances have developed extensively. The general rise in the level of culture and expansion of the horizons of village dwellers are furthered by the ties between village and city, which have increased tremendously during the years of Soviet authority, even more due to the fact that the face of the cities themselves has changed basically, for they have become true centers of public and cultural life of the surrounding areas. It is sufficient to say that in many rayon centers universities of culture, music schools and music lecturing bureaus, sports clubs and other institutions are functioning under the auspices of the palaces of culture, attracting a large number of kolkhoz workers and village intelligentsia. All of this is also an approval of the new socialist forms of ownership in the village, and the basic transformations of the economic conditions of peasant life, as well as the change in the nature of peasant labor, and a drawing of peasants into the country's active political-public life, and the rapid rise of their cultural level. This has served as a firm basis for changing their attitudes and introducing a great spread of atheism. The formation of an atheistic attitude is a complicated and lengthy process, the intensity of which is conditioned by many factors. It is necessary to consider the degree of religious beliefs on the part of the population in the past. A study

of this question has shown that in many rural areas of Latvia the process of forming atheist views is already in the final stages, while in other regions religious survivals in the consciousness of the peasants are still perceptible to a considerable degree. The latter holds true chiefly for the regions where the population is of the Catholic faith, since it is in these regions that the workers were enslaved by the exploiter classes most of all, and these classes kept the working peasantry in darkness and ignorance. The cleavage between religion and the church in the peasant milieu is manifested primarily in the sharp decrease in the number of persons attending church services or appealing to the church for religious ceremonies. Observations show that in several regions only a few persons now attend church services. As a rule these are elderly women. Churches often remain empty even on major religious holidays (Easter, Christmas). (In 1960 23 persons attended the Easter morning service in the Lutheran church in the city of Daugavpils. Three of them were between the ages of 23 and 25, while the others were considerably older. [Materials from the Daugavpils Pedagogical Institute]).

Due to the lack of attendance many Lutheran and Catholic churches have begun to hold services more infrequently. There are many churches which go for years without any churchmen visiting them. During the last three years several churches have been shut down in the Republic on the initiative of the public, due to lack of need. Many parishes can be named where the church committees, so-called Twenties, have ceased to be active for a long time or have broken up all-together; there are no persons who would be interested in these activities. Cases occur more and more often whereby village citizens announce their withdrawal from the committee. It is significant that elderly women, usually illiterate, prevail among the functioning committees of twenty. Among the younger member of the committees (this is quite a rare occurrence now) persons can usually be found who are not particularly respected or heeded by the local population for they are weighed down, as has been confirmed many times, by other harmful survivals of the past (surviving tendencies toward private property, survivals of nationalism, extreme individualism, etc.). (For example, in one of the Lutheran parishes, for a long time no one could be found to direct the Committee of Twenty. Finally, in 1958 a person was found. He was, strangely enough, a comparatively young person and was not a native of that locality, having just returned after serving a term for major crimes. He did not wish to join a kolkhoz and kept to himself.)



Observation of the process of the population breaking away from carrying out religious ceremonies connected with man's life cycle testifies to the fact that such ceremonies as confirmation and religious wedding ceremonies are dying off most rapidly. This is understandable since the principals in these cases are the representatives of the younger generation, which is distinguished under modern conditions by the most advanced views, the highest cultural level and participation in communal activities. A large percentage of the village youth is in the Komsomol, and some of the older ones are already members or candidates for membership in the Party. Their consciousness is even freer from religious survivals. One can already speak of confirmation as a ceremony which in some regions has lost its significance to a great degree and in others has completely lost significance. One can literally count on his fingers those young men or women who have reached the age of confirmation and who wish to go through with this ceremony. Here is how an old collective farmer in the Yekabpilsskiy Rayon puts it: "Formerly up to 90 persons a year were confirmed in our church. Even during the war, under the Germans (that is during the years of German-Facist occupation -- author), 20 to 25 persons per year were confirmed, while in 1949 only 9 persons in the entire district wanted to receive confirmation. Not one of these was from our kolkhoz." (This statement by collective farmer K. from the "seliya" kolkhoz in Yekabpilsskiy Rayon was taken down by the author in 1956 [materials of the Baltic Expedition, Archives of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences]).

Figures for subsequent years for this parish are even more expressive. In 1956 one, already adult (27) kolkhoz worker (female) wished to go through the confirmation ceremony, and in 1957 there were no confirmations in this church: on the appointed day no one appeared and the planned church service was cancelled. In 1958 the church caretaker brought his daughter for confirmation and in 1959 and 1960 there were no persons wanting confirmation. Analogous examples can be given for other rayons of Latvia. Figures on church weddings are similar. The study made by the author of the Yakabpilsskiy Rayon showed that during the past ten years no one was married in the above-mentioned church or in the churches of the neighboring parishes of this rayon. However, there are a few cases of weddings at home with the participation of the pastor. An analogous study for one of the village Soviets of the Daugavpilsse Rayon (Dubenskiy, which includes the "Dzirkstele" kolkhoz) showed that even where

modern youth has grown up in peasant families which professed the Catholic faith, attitude toward the church wedding has changed sharply: of 22 young couples who were married within the past four years (1957-1960), only four couples had church weddings, and this brought a negative response on the part of their acquaintances of the same age. (It is necessary to stress that the "Dzirkstele" kolkhoz of Daugavpils Rayon, as the above mentioned "seliya" collective farm of the Yakabpilsskiy Rayon, are pioneers of collectivization, organized as early as 1947, that is, two to three years earlier than the majority of Latvian kolkhozes.)

A considerable percentage of kolkhoz families still holds to the ceremony of christening children. However, if we compare the number of christenings which are taking place at present with the figures for previous years, particularly during the years of the bourgeois system, it becomes obvious that this ceremony also has now a smaller number of adherents, particularly among the former Protestant population. There are many village Soviets and kolkhozes in the Republic where the great majority of farmers have already rejected this ceremony. For example, the author is acquainted with many such village Soviets in the Yakabpilsskiy, Kuldigskiy, Saldusskiy, Daugavpils and other rayons. In view of this it is interesting to note the frequent cases whereby the older children of a family (born during the Second World War or in the first post-war years) were christened while in respect to the younger children who were born during the past 8-10 years, the parents have already consciously failed to perform this ceremony. (The author came across similar facts, in particular in Yakabpilsskiy [see materials of the Baltic Expeditions, Archives of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences]).

In elucidating the question as to the relation of collective farmers who have christened their children to this ceremony, it is extremely seldom that one receives an answer which indicates that they attribute any special significance to this ceremony and consider its execution obligatory for themselves. Young couples usually indicate that their parents or grandmothers insisted on it; middle aged couples often say that it was always the thing to do and they are simply following old traditions. Only in certain Eastern regions of the Republic where the influence of the Catholic church is still noticeable is the ceremony of christening children often considered in peasant families to be a vitally essential act which corresponds to the religious convictions of those who intend to carry this act out. The burial of deceased persons with the observance of a religious ceremony also is a rather common occurrence in

Latvia at the present time. According to church statistics, in 1959 the number of such burials was about one-half the total number of burials. A selected study shows that the great majority of these funerals also took place in the Eastern regions. Observations made by the author during the course of several years in various rural areas of Latvia testify to the fact that this religious ceremony is gradually losing its former significance. This is expressed both in its simplification and in the more and more common exchange of the religious ritual with civil. Until recently all ceremonies connected with honoring the deceased in rural Latvia were completely in the hands of the church. As recently as two years ago, everywhere in rural cemeteries the church designated prayers twice a year dedicated to praying for the souls of deceased persons. One of these -- "kapu svyatki" (Holiday at the Graves) -- was held in the summer and the other -- "Mirusho diena" (Day of the Deceased) or "svetgishu vakars" (Evening of Candles) -- in the late fall, during the so-called "Soul's Time" (velyu layka). At this time a large number of persons would come to the cemetery, of various ages and social status. It was usual for the entire family to come together with children, but nevertheless, as our materials indicate, during the last few years elderly women predominated at these religious ceremonies in the majority of cases. On these days the graves were carefully cleaned of grass and decorated with fresh flowers. On the praying day everyone came with wreaths and bouquets of fresh flowers. The ritual included a service held right at the cemetery. On the "Evening of Candles" the praying began with darkness. Many candles were lit on the graves (30-40 on some graves). The attitude of the population to the religious rites on these days of praying for the deceased, as we became convinced, was dual in nature. One portion of the villages, comprising until recently a majority, accepted these ceremonies as a positive old tradition and censured those who did not come to the cemetery at the time designated by the church or who did not put their graves in order for these days. Others, at first in the minority, but representing a more up-to-date cross-section of the village society, had a negative attitude toward these customs, and although some of them visited the cemetery on the date of praying, they openly expressed the opinion that it would be better to relieve the initiative from the church in conducting these memorial days. Along with the development of atheist views, the relation to such steadfastly preserved religious ceremonies began to change, such as the funeral ceremony and praying for deceased.

Parallel with the refusal to carry out the above religious ceremonies, an active process of forming new customs and ceremonies is to be observed everywhere in Latvia, as well as the forming of new traditions. Some of them have already won a firm position in the rural life of the population, while others are still in the process of formation. Before describing them we shall mention two significant things -- the endeavor on the part of the Latvian population, particularly the peasants, to give a national coloring to new ceremonies and festivals and the clear tendency to transfer these solemnities or ceremonies from the sphere of the family to the community. We shall begin with a description of ceremonies connected with the birth of a child. The news of such an event quickly makes the rounds of the collective farm, particularly for the members of the collectives where the mother and father work. Kolkhoz workers usually express their congratulations orally and sometimes in written form. It is even acceptable to send a telegram or congratulatory picture postcard, particularly if the newly born child is the young couple's first one. A short time after the mother returns from the hospital with her child, guests begin frequent visits. They come without special invitation, at their own initiative, when they themselves wish to see the new baby and wish to present well wishes to the mother, the child and the entire family. These visits are designated by the old term "gaudzibas" (bride-shows). The number of persons who make these visits has increased considerably: it includes not only relatives or close friends but representatives of the kolkhoz in which the mother or father work. These visits, one after another, often continue for an entire month and even longer. Guests bring presents, chiefly pies, pastries and other foods, as well as wine. The host and hostess cannot be unprepared to receive any number of guests, for they must greet them with abundant refreshments. During the last three to four years a new custom has become quite popular in the Republic of publicly celebrating the naming-giving to a newly born child and acceptance of the new member of the community into the village collective. This solemn moment received the title "vardu doshanas diena" (Naming Day), or "bernibas svyatki" (Childhood Holiday). Much experience in carrying out these solemn ceremonies has been gained in the Kuldigskiy Rayon, where they were carried out in the rayon palace of culture, as well as at the machinery repair station and at several kolkhozes. These solemnities were well organized in the Tukumskiy Rayon (particularly in the fishing kolkhoz "Selga") as well as on many kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Valkskiy, Ergl'skiy,

Tsesissskiy, Autsskiy, Ruyyenskiy, Yekabpilsskiy and other rayons in the Republic. Dates for holding the "Childhood Holiday" vary, but it is preferable to hold it in the summer when there are many flowers and the weather is warm. In many rayons it is made to coincide with the International Children Protection Day -- 1 June. It is conceived to be dedicated to those children who were born during the past year, but in view of the fact that it was introduced not long ago, in many areas of the Republic (particularly those areas where it is now first being introduced) children are invited to join in the holiday who were born in previous years: in certain cases, depending on circumstances, the maximum age is 3 years, while in others -- a maximum age of 5 years is established as an exception. In coming years, when these holidays will become regularly celebrated they will embrace only those children which were born in the current year. It is interesting to note that, besides parents and children, godparents are also invited to celebrate this holiday. Even under modern conditions, whereby children are not christened in church, these persons have not lost their significance in the peasant's way of life, but their influence on the children now has an entirely different conception: their duties do not include the inculcation of religious convictions but a consolidation in the consciousness of the children of standards of socialist morals. Therefore they have a special role also for the community holiday in honor of naming new members of the community.

The organizers of the celebration take great pains to decorate the premises where the ceremonies are to take place. Usually this is the village club and sometimes the school building. The stage and auditorium are decorated with greenery, flowers and colorful signs, including verses and sayings by Latvian poets and writers or folk songs suitable to the occasion in content. Special seats are prepared for the parents, children and godparents in the auditorium, in front of the stage or on the stage. These are usually wound around with garlands of greenery or flowers. The principals of the celebration are greeted with music when they enter the club and a special repertoire is learned by certain amateur collectives (for example, cradle and children's songs). The celebration begins with the parents being congratulated by the representatives of the kolkhoz, village Soviet, school, etc. They are wished success in bringing up their children to become full-fledged members of socialist society and they promise to lend as much aid as possible from the collective. Well-wishers usually extend their wishes also to the godparents, appealing to them to participate actively in the upbringing of

their godchildren. A component part of the solemn act is the presentation to the children of special, fancy certificates or commemoration books (they are not official documents), in which is written the name of the child, the date of the festivities and the name of the collective which organized the festivities. A no less important element is the moment when the children are entered in the kolkhoz or village Soviet books (depending on who organized the festivities). A representative of the village Soviet (kolkhoz) usually invites to his table for this not only the parents but the godparents; their names are also written in the book opposite the name of the child, in order that they might be made aware of their responsibility for his upbringing. In certain areas, when the date of the festivities coincides with the child's birthday or is close to it, during the festivities his official registration also takes place. In such cases the name-giving celebration becomes even more solemn and significant. As an official part of the celebration it is the accepted thing to top off the festivities by giving presents in honor of this day. A small amateur concert is a continuance of the festivities. Some collectives -- where there is a comparatively small number of participants -- have refreshments later. From personal observations and from the stories of many participants in such celebrations it is possible to make the conclusion that "name-giving days" have already become quite popular and won recognition among the rural population. For example, it is significant that in those areas where the childhood celebrations or majority celebrations are still not organized regularly or where they have never taken place, the people themselves, primarily mothers, make constant requests addressed to village Soviets and public organizations to hold such festivities. It is also possible to confirm that where these celebrations are already regularly held (annually) they play a great positive role in forcing the church christening out of peasant life. Statistics point to this; collective farmers also speak in the same vein.

Still more popular among the workers of Latvia, including villagers, are the recently established "majority celebrations" (Pilngadibas svyatki). These remarkable youth celebrations, the initiator of which was the Central Komsomol Committee of the Republic, began to be held in 1957 and during this short period of time attracted most young people to participate in them. For example, in Yakabpilsskiy Rayon majority celebrations began to be held in 1958, and at that time more than 150 young men and women took part in them; in 1959 four times as many young people participated in these celebrations; in the Dubenskiy

Rayon only 12 persons failed to participate in 1960 in the majority celebrations. These figures have a direct relation to the question dealing with the freeing of youth from under the influence of the church. We have mentioned above the active refusal of youth to be confirmed. The new community celebration in honor of reaching one's majority is forcing out of existence that out-moded religious ceremony, and young men and women participating in the celebration are that modern youth which has consciously rejected the church. The "majority celebration" is also held during the summer months and often is made to coincide with the Soviet youth holiday, which is celebrated on the last Sunday in June throughout the Soviet Union. In such cases all young people participate in the various events organized for young people, not only 18 year olds. But the center of attention on these days are the 18 year olds. In many regions of the Republic it has become a tradition to gather the young people who are reaching the age of 18 during that year, several days before the celebration, in the rayon centers. Lectures on various subjects are read for the young men and women; on the rights and obligations of Soviet citizens, on Communist morals, and talks are given on the conduct of youth in society, on the fundamentals of a healthy life and new Soviet songs and dances are learned. They participate in athletic contests. Often meetings are organized during these gatherings between the youth and old revolutionaries, leading members of kolkhozes and enterprises, writers, artists, actors. The program also includes the organization of excursions throughout the rayon and along tourist itineraries in the Republic, movies and theatres.

This many-faceted preparation for the day of reaching majority arouses particular interest on the part of youth to this celebration, and the great majority of young men and women await it with great impatience. On the day of the celebration, if it is being celebrated on a rayon scale, the ceremonies begin with a solemn youth procession from the gathering point to the celebration spot. The colorful file of young people attracts the attention of the local inhabitants, who gather at the beginning of the celebration along the streets of the rayon centers: the girls are in white dresses with bouquets of flowers and the young men -- in dark suits and white shirts, in front of them proceeds a wind orchestra playing joyful marches and melodies. Representatives of the rayon Komsomol organization head the column. Pioneers, elder Komsomol members, guests and parents await the column at the entrance to the rayon palace of culture. After the convocation of the ceremony the guests of honor, seated in the

front rows of the auditorium, are warmly greeted by one of the celebration organizers. Then the solemn ceremony of handing out "majority certificates" begins. The majority certificates, introduced in the Republic on the initiative of the Komsomol Central Committee, are well-designed booklets with the name of the boy or girl, the date he or she came of age and various wishes usually expressed in verse. Gifts are presented together with the certificate, usually books. After the ceremony of handing out the certificates, the young people are greeted by representatives of public organizations, pioneers, comrades on the job, acquaintances, relatives. The guests of honor receive masses of flowers. The entire celebration is permeated with gaiety and joy. Music comes from the adjoining facilities, which is played with folk melodies and songs of Soviet youth, and the entire solemn part of the celebration is carried out under the accompaniment of this music. From time to time mass songs are sung in the auditorium: "My Native Land is Broad," "Democratic Youth Hymn" and others; they are sung by all the participants of the celebration, infecting the older guests with their youthful spirit. Sometimes concerts, carnivals, athletic contests, torchlight processions, walks in parks and other mass types of recreation take place sometimes directly after the solemn part of the celebration, in other cases -- in the evening after a break. The majority celebrations are held either on a rayon scale, and in this case the youth is invited to the rayon center, or on a village Soviet scale, where the organizers of these celebrations are production collectives of enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses as well as local institutions of learning. In those areas where the all-rayon majority celebration is not held, 18 year old young men and women, celebrating the momentous event in their collectives, make a special endeavor later to participate in the all-rayon Soviet youth celebration. In content the majority celebrations, organized by kolkhozes or other production collectives, differ in almost nothing from the all-rayon celebrations. Many guests gather for them: they arrive from neighboring kolkhozes and schools, from Riga or other cities and villages in the Republic, with which these collectives are connected in production or public-cultural life. On the kolkhozes these celebrations are also held in a spirit of joy and gaiety. The tone of the celebration, thanks to the fact that all of its participants know each other well and form a single labor collective welded together with friendship, is distinguished by particular warmth and sincerity. At these celebrations it is usual to plan a comradely supper, the greetings and toasts at which are directed to the young members of the



collective who have reached legal adulthood. The date of the coming of majority is, in addition, always celebrated in the family.

The relationship of the rural population to the fact of the formation of a new family has changed basically under modern conditions exactly the same as the ceremonies connected with this formation have changed. Formerly in the milieu of independent farmers, the formation of a new family was treated as a private affair of a few persons, while now in conditions of Soviet and kolkhoz activities this event has acquired great community significance, and the members of those village collectives in which the formation of a young family takes place do not remain apart from this process. They care for the creation of the necessary material conditions for the life of the new family (if there is a necessity for this) (aiding their future household, housing construction, etc.), take active part in the preparations and holding of the wedding, and often take upon themselves the entire responsibility for organizing it. These weddings have received the name of public or Komsomol weddings. The marriage ceremony of kolkhoz workers has become quite simplified. Not only the church service has been dropped but the custom of marriage brokers and agreement between the parties on a dowry; the wedding takes place now usually in one place instead of two as formerly; at first in the home of the bride's parents and then in the home of the groom's parents. It now takes place in the home where the newlyweds will live. Talking with kolkhoz workers on their attitude towards the organization of the wedding and writing down the ritual of modern weddings, we became convinced that although it has been decided to celebrate the wedding without the church ceremony, the organizers and participants nevertheless attempt to observe many old folk traditions, combining them with new ones which have cropped up quite recently. In the great majority of cases the registration of the marriage takes place on the wedding day and is accepted as a constituent part of the entire wedding ceremony. On the kolkhoz of the Daugavpils Rayon of the Latvian SSR we came across another system, which is the following: the registration of the marriage takes place no less than 2 to 3 months before the wedding and is viewed more as a unique engagement between the bride and groom, after which the families officially announce the coming marriage; however, the young couple actually do not yet get married and are considered merely as engaged, for they continue to live in the homes of their parents until the wedding ceremony. They consider the marriage to be consummated only after the wedding ceremony is carried out. This also holds true for

wedding ceremonies without a church ceremony.

Weddings are held year-round, but more commonly in the fall and spring. The favorite day in the week is Saturday (the eve of the rest day). The wedding begins in the evening hours. In cases whereby the day of the marriage registration and the wedding coincide, the beginning of the solemn ceremony is the trip to the registration office. The wedding party leaves for the village Soviet, where the marriage is registered solemnly. The chairman and secretary of the village Soviet arrive for this purpose at the village Soviet in the evening, dressed up (in certain village Soviets they wear folk costumes); in many village Soviets the building is decorated specially for this purpose, young birch trees or firs are placed by the doors and the chairs for the young couple are interwoven with garlands of greenery. The young couple arrives for the registration of the marriage, accompanied by their parents and a large group of young people, often with musicians. Wagons and teams of horses are used very rarely now, for they prefer motor vehicles. A taxi is now usually ordered from the closest town for the young pair and sponsors, or they borrow somebody's private automobile. All the rest ride on trucks furnished by the kolkhozes. The motor vehicles are decorated with young birch trees (fir trees in the winter). The bride and groom are usually dressed in wedding costumes: the bride in a white dress with bridal veil, and the groom -- in a black suit with a white shirt and light colored tie. If the wedding takes place far from the place of registration, the participants in the ceremony congratulate the young couple on the spot in the village Soviet; the musicians play a flourish, the already prepared hostesses offer the young couple and guests wine and pastry. Often congratulatory telegrams are sent ahead of time for the young couple to the village Soviet or gifts are left there for them. The following ceremonies, which pertain to the wedding ritual, contain many traditional features. The wedding party usually meets obstacles in the road in the form of closed gates and similar hindrances and it is necessary to "pay" to overcome them. These obstacles are often set up in front of the gates of the house where the wedding party is headed. The young couple, arriving after the marriage is registered to the home of the bridegroom's parents (or to the home where the wedding ceremony is to take place) is met on the threshold by the parents with the "bread and salt" (it is replaced by pieces of pastry) and wine. The bride presents gifts to the future father-in-law and mother-in-law before entering the house, as well as to the husband's close relatives

(in some cases these gifts are handed out later, after the wedding feast). The wedding feast usually lasts two days: Saturday and Sunday. Weddings where old traditions are maintained have the "Mīchoshana" ceremony (the bride's headdress -- the wreath -- is removed and replaced with the headdress of a married woman -- a kerchief; sometimes a flower is placed in the hair instead of the kerchief). A prominent place at weddings even now is given over to competitions in witticisms and songs by both parties -- the bride and groom. This is quite widespread in Latgaliya. It is interesting to note the principle of inviting guests, which has changed in comparison with past usage. The circle of guests has widened considerably, not with the addition of more relatives, but with comrades on the job (for example, members of the same brigade) and representatives of the members of the kolkhoz and the village. Nowadays it is possible to hear such words as "our brigade had a wedding." Komsomol or public weddings are held usually in the kolkhoz club buildings, palaces of culture or in schools (if the kolkhoz does not yet have a club). The ritual of these weddings also includes many old folk traditions; in addition, the initiative of the young people is manifested in searching for and carrying out various new ceremonies, chiefly of a joking nature. These weddings are particularly well attended -- "celebrated by the entire kolkhoz," as can be heard often about Komsomol weddings. The greatest combination of old folk traditions with new customs takes place at funerals, and it is during these ceremonies that certain local features maintain themselves most steadfastly. The deceased is immediately washed, clothed and is left in bed until a coffin is purchased or built, and the deceased is covered over with a sheet. The following day he is placed in the casket. From here on customs differ. Throughout most of Latvia the casket is carried out of the house to one of the out-buildings: a shed, the barn, cellar. This is cleaned out, emptied of superfluous objects and decorated with fir branches. The coffin is placed on a low pedestal (for example, on stools) covered with a homespun blanket and they close the casket. They keep the deceased in this manner, as a rule for at least a week until the funeral is prepared. During all this time almost nobody enters the premises and no one renders homage to the deceased (they check only to see that the deceased does not begin to "go bad.") In the Eastern regions of Latvia-Latgaliya the deceased is kept in the house, is not left alone and is buried obligatorily on the third day.

Attendance at a funeral is by invitation only, which is accepted as a sign of respect. The choice of guests,

including relatives, is made in consideration of the relations between the guest and the deceased, as well as with the members of his family. Now attention is also devoted to the labor or public collective with which the deceased was connected: his comrades in production or public work are invited to the funeral. At many funerals kolkhoz musicians are also present and sometimes a chorus. The funeral ceremonies begin, according to tradition, during the afternoon, and the burial takes place at sunset. All guests come to the home of the deceased with flowers or wreaths and place them on the casket. A meal usually follows, after which all go outside and approach the casket one by one to bid farewell to the deceased. The central figure in the ceremony from this moment on is the "conductor of the deceased." In order to carry out such an honorable role, the relatives invite one of the most eloquent and authoritative local people, preferably a man (cases are known whereby women were invited). Often the choice falls on a teacher. This person gives a speech before the procession leaves the yard of the deceased and once again at the cemetery by the grave, before the casket is lowered. In both cases the orator relates the earthly journey of the deceased and describes his merits. Processions of trucks have become quite common for funerals. But elderly persons usually arrange to be carried to their last resting place by horse. The special orator leads the procession. If they leave for the cemetery on trucks, he is given a seat in the cab of the truck which is carrying the casket. After they arrive at the cemetery the casket is opened once again and the procedure of taking leave of the deceased is carried out: the orator speaks his last word, certain of the guests give farewell speeches, the chorus sings a few songs suitable to the occasion and the orchestra strikes up a mournful melody. The orator asks that all bid farewell to the deceased and the casket is lowered into the grave, which is covered on the bottom and the sides with birch boughs, and the casket is covered with a blanket. Each of the guests throws three handfuls of dirt on the lid of the coffin saying: "Light sand!"

After the coffin is buried the guests approach the grave with wreaths and say a few more farewell words to the deceased, placing wreaths on the grave. Then the relatives offer wine and bread to the persons gathered together with a request to pray for the deceased. The guests thereupon depart for the home of the deceased, where the traditional meal is held. Everywhere except in Latgaliya various types of entertainment are allowed at funerals. One often hears that the deceased loved gaiety, songs and music and asked that the funeral be a gay occasion. New phenomena in this

area include public funerals organized by village Soviets, kolkhoz directorates and public organizations. Those people who possessed significant revolutionary, public or production merits are buried in this manner. The casket with the body of the deceased in such cases is placed in the village palace of culture, and an honorary watch is set up around the casket; a funeral meeting is held. A great number of local inhabitants participate in the funeral; the members of kolkhozes in the vicinity, the village intelligentsia and school pupils. Completing the description of modern customs and ceremonies, we still must acquaint the reader with the still-forming secular ceremony which is dedicated to the memory of persons deceased. We mentioned above the wishes of the rural population which have been expressed more and more often in past years to remove the religious significance from the tradition of collective visits to the graves of loved ones on certain days. Answering these wishes, some village Soviets and public organizations in the kolkhozes of Latvia decided to take the initiative in their own hands and hold special days in memory of the deceased. For example, here is what happened on one of these days at one of the village cemeteries of the Yekabpilsskiy Rayon (Selpilsskiy village Soviet, 1959).

The preparations for this day were made by the deputies of the village Soviet, representatives of the Party and Komsomol organizations of the Selpilse kolkhozes and teachers. Local citizens were informed ahead of time of the coming event and the new content of the ceremony. The initiative on the part of the village civic leaders was quite popular among workers, kolkhoz members and the village intelligentsia. Long before the day designated for honoring the deceased they cleaned up the graves of their loved ones, planted flowers, and scattered sand on the paths. Many people gathered on this day at the cemetery -- many more than during the religious services which had been held during previous years. The chairman of the village Soviet led the ceremonies. In a short speech directed to his fellow villagers, he appealed to them to honor the memory of their loved ones and friends who had found rest in the old Selpilse cemetery. The school superintendent, who had worked for many years in Selpilse and who knew the majority of local townspeople quite well, gave a moving speech after this. She reminded them of the difficult days during the 1905 revolution and spoke out the names of the revolutionaries now resting in the Selpilse cemetery. The orator had many warm words for the untimely demise of the young and talented composer, Peter Barison -- a native of the Selpilsskiy volost. The kolkhoz orchestra played beauti-

ful melodies composed by him over his grave. The orator devoted her speech also to many average people and activists of the new social system who had left behind a good memory. One of the former participants of the Komsomol underground between 1920 and 1930, who was present at the cemetery, devoted his speech to the former inhabitants of the volost who had given their life in the fight to restore Soviet power in Latvia. The joint chorus of the Selpilse kolkhozes sang many beautiful Latvian songs. The guests placed wreaths and garlands of flowers on the graves of the revolutionaries and civic figures of Selpilse. The opinion voiced by the great majority of Selpilse people on the new ritual of the day in honor of the deceased is reflected in the words which soon appeared in the rayon newspaper: "The pastors have nothing more to do." ("... Macitjam vairak nau ko darit" [Vriva Daugava, 18 August 1959]). In 1959, alongside the new, secular ceremony dedicated to the memory of the deceased, a religious "kapu svyatki" took place in the same cemetery. However, on this day only a few old women gathered at the cemetery. In 1960 the "day to honor the memory of the deceased" was held once again at the Selpilse cemetery according to the secular ritual and, as the previous year, the majority of the locals were present. During the past two years civil ceremonies honoring the memory of deceased began to be held at many other village cemeteries, where they also attracted a large number of participants. It is quite possible that in the next few years the old religious ceremony of praying for the deceased will die out completely in the Republic. Characterizing the complicated process of the rural population moving away from religion and the replacing of old religious ceremonies which have lost their significance and meaning, new ceremonies and celebrations which are suitable to the new way of life and confirming the materialistic attitudes of the people, it is necessary to stress that churchmen are by no means indifferent to this. Some of them (only a few for the time being) as a result of tremendous inner struggle, are changing their former beliefs and are making the transition to the position of atheism; others (they still comprise a majority) are endeavoring to hold the population under their influence with all the means at their command.

During recent years ten churchmen in the Republic have publicly taken off the cloth (Catholic priests, pastors and Baptist ministers). The motives causing them to do this were clearly revealed in the letter by former pastor Ol'gerd Robezhniyek, who served four parishes in the Yakabpilsskiy Rayon during recent years. In the letter, which was published in the rayon newspaper, he writes that after

20 long years of serving the church he overcame his inner doubts with great difficulty and now has come to know the genuine truth of life. Becoming decisively convinced of the lack of foundation of religious dogma, he no longer intends to propagandize and defend it. "I don't want to spend one more day of my life as a priest," he writes. "I want to do something useful for society." In his letter, Robezhniyek speaks of the increasing atheism among the masses. Noting the active exodus of the population from religion, he writes that the church has maintained a certain significance only for a small number of persons of the older generations, as well as those few representatives of youth who still are under the influence of the backward views of their parents. "But I have noticed more and more often," he stresses, "that the believers themselves were not truly religious people, for they appealed to religion at best for the sake of observing old traditions which they themselves had not endeavored to replace by something else." "I could not help but see," he continued, "that it is the youth, to which the future belongs, which is leaving the church, attracted by those broad perspectives which are being opened up for it by modern life. The church is superfluous in this life, and the work of the clergy is not only unnecessary, but harmful." (Briva Daugava, 23 October 1959).

Cases of representatives of the church denouncing the cloth cause strong reaction among the rural populace as well as among clerical circles. Former Catholic priest Sveysalinek, now lecturer of the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific and Political Knowledge of the Latvian SSR, dealing with this question in his lecture, stated: "Fanatic Catholics, learning of my public denouncement, attempted to convince their followers that the anti-Christ had settled within me. But many of them, including my former flock, understood me and approved my decision. I received many letters, from which I see that my break with religion has shaken the faith of formerly religious people or has led them toward atheism." (From a lecture by Zveysalinek, read in 1959 in the Yakabpilsskiy Rayon Palace of Culture [written down by me -- author]).

The renunciation of the church by the above-mentioned pastor, Robezhniyek, met the approval of the great majority of the inhabitants of the Yakabpilsskiy Rayon, known even earlier for their advanced views. In particular this was reflected in the fact that a group of former parishioners of the Selpilse church submitted a request to the village Soviet that the church be closed, shortly after his renunciation. Opposition to the growing atheism, shown by the Lutheran and Catholic churches, is manifested

in various forms. In the above case a new and more "reliable" pastor was designated for the above-mentioned parishes of the Yekabpilsskiy Rayon. One of his first endeavors was that of attempting to halt the closing of the Selpilse church. By individual agitation among the more backward inhabitants he was able to force the persons who had submitted the petition to close the church, to withdraw this petition. A short time later, in order to strengthen the position of religion, the bishop himself came to the Selpilsskiy church to conduct a solemn church service. However, his appearance did not cause a sensation and the crowd which gathered from the entire large district was extremely small. It is already evident from the above facts that there is a bitter ideological struggle going on around these problems. We might add other facts which are known to us, pointing out the intrigues carried out by the men in the service of the church in order to maintain their influence. For example, these include obvious time-serving by churchmen in determining the age of young people in order to go through confirmation with the Lutherans or to take the sacrament with the Catholics. Observations show that where certain events take place, these ceremonies, established for adolescents and young men and women, are held now at a considerably earlier age and at moments when the children are connected least with school (for example, during the summer vacation, during the transition from one school to another, from the grammar school to the 7-year school, or immediately after completion of the 7-year school) or while children of the youngest age category have not yet joined the ranks of the pioneer organization, and older children -- the Komsomol. The churchmen attempt to exercise influence on the children by means of their parents, and there are ones who attempt to use threats and force under the influence of the church on children who refuse to carry out religious rites. In one of the rayons of the Latvian SSR, for example, we came across a fact whereby a kolkhoz worker's mother drove her 11-year old son out of the home due to the fact that he refused to go to church and entered the pioneer organization. The intercession of the school and the village Soviet were required in order to convince the mother of the error of her ways. (Materials of the Baltic Expedition, 1960).

Certain representatives of the church even go so far as to intimidate believers. Catholic priest Kalnysh, of the Likshenskiy (Daugavpilse Rayon) acted in this way until recently. In his sermons he threatened the faithful with fire and brimstone for non-attendance at church and for refusing to christen children in church. He resorted to in-



dividual influence on the faithful for greater convincingness. Once he called in a female kolkhoz worker from the "Dzimtene" kolkhoz and threatened that if she did not bring in her children for first sacrament there would be no-one to bury her and her children at the cemetery. The frightened woman, the conscience of whom was completely in the power of religious mysticism, soon brought her children to the church. (Materials of the Baltic Expedition).

All of this points to the fact that problems of freeing a certain part of the population from the influence of the church, the overcoming of religious survivals and the formation of atheistic attitudes require constant and unstinting attention. Taking this into consideration, the Republic public organizations are improving the methods and content of scientific-atheistic propaganda. In each local group of the society for the dissemination of political and scientific knowledge in the Republic sections are being formed for scientific-atheistic propaganda. During the past few years the number of lectures given on scientific-atheist subjects has increased considerably. In content these lectures have become more purposeful and they include also concrete materials characterizing the acts of local churchmen and sectarians. Besides lectures, the propaganda of scientific-atheist views is carried out by holding talks, question and answer sessions, debates, exhibits, specially organized evenings and chemical experiments are carried out in order to expose various "miracles" of the church, etc. We should note that the interest of the rural population is growing noticeably in all of these measures, as well as believers. The audiences always contain a smaller or larger group of believers or those who are wavering in their religious beliefs. Some of them often argue actively with the organizers of these evenings and obviously do not wish to capitulate, while others receive new scientific information from these lectures, which aids them in freeing themselves of religious views. Many of them subsequently tell the organizers about this either in letters or orally. In view of this we should mention the large-scale and many-faceted work carried out by the teachers and students of the Daugavpils Pedagogical Institute. On their initiative a club of militant atheists has been formed at the institute, which has become one of the rayon's chief centers for scientific-atheist propaganda. (See Klub Voinstvennykh Ateistov, [Club of Militant Atheists], Riga, 1960).

The initiative shown by the workers in creating new non-religious ceremonies and celebrations has drawn increased attention on the part of the population of the Latvian SSR. Experience in organizing these new solemn

ceremonies is being studied and absorbed in the Republic (See the Pamphlet by A. Serdants: Sadzivei Jaunas Tradicijas, Riga, 1958). These questions are the subject of discussion at special conferences organized by the Komsomol Central Committee or suitable departments of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Culture. Local ethnographers, specialists in folklore, musicians, poets, and writers are encouraged to participate in these sessions. The Republic and rayon press announce new celebrations or "memorial days" being held in the various areas of the Republic. The personal observations of the author of the process of forming new customs and ceremonies, as well as acquaintance with various materials of sessions devoted to the discussion of these problems, as well as with the press, testify to the fact that there are many unsettled questions, but on the whole the activities of the Latvian public organizations heading a large-scale movement for the formation of non-religious forms of everyday life are deserving of universal approval.

WORK OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES INSTITUTE OF  
OF ETHNOGRAPHY IN 1960

[Following is the translation of an article by V. A. Aleksandrov, Sovetskaya etnografiya (Soviet Ethnography), Moscow, No 2, March-April 1961, pages 110-115.]

In 1960 the USSR Academy of Sciences (AS) Institute of Ethnography, directed by the resolution by the CC of the Party "Party propaganda under contemporary conditions," endeavored to a maximum degree to bring the scientific research conducted by it toward Communist construction in practice, to join more closely its activities with the most vital problems of historical science, in accordance with the tasks of academic scientific institutions. In particular, in 1960 the Institute stepped up its work on studying spiritual culture, the development of new attitudes among the peoples of the USSR and the overcoming of religious and domestic survivals. As in the previous year, the scientific research done by the Institute concentrated, in accordance with the Seven Year Plan, around the most important spheres of activity: 1) a study of the processes of change of the social-domestic and cultural way of life of the peoples of the USSR in the epoch of transition from socialism to Communism; 2) research on ethnic processes taking place in our country, primarily the forming of socialist nations, as well as a study of the process of nation forming under conditions of a colonial system and in the newly formed sovereign states; 3) the working out of problems dealing with the origin of

man and the history of primitive society. In its research the Institute, as in previous years, endeavored to combine the preparations of generalizing collective works, individual monographs and collections of subject matter, consisting of minor research projects. In the course of 1960 the Institute completed 28 works, 21 of which were published. For the problems reflecting the study of processes characteristic for our modern age, the Institute in its expeditional operations embracing the RSFSR (the Central European Section, Northern Caucasus, the Urals, Siberia) and the Union Republics of Central Asia, expanded its research not only territorially (in particular, in Siberia and the Kalmyk ASSR): in the aim of creating comprehensive work the Institute conducted ethnographic studies not of individual units (kolkhozes, sovkhoses, villages, settlements, cities), but of various population strata of entire rayons and, in several cases, oblasts and krais. The practical significance of the expeditional activities of the Institute was manifested in the great interest in the work of the expeditions on the part of local Party and Soviet organs.

On this subject basic attention was devoted in 1960 to two problems -- "cultural-domestic changes among the peoples of the USSR during the period of accelerated construction of Communism" and "the forming of socialist nations and their development during the period of the accelerated building of Communism." The expeditional work in this direction was carried out by the personnel of the Complex Expedition (headed by Terent'yeva), the Central Asian Ethnographic (headed by Karmysheva), the Northern (headed by Dolgikh), the Baltic (headed by Terent'yeva) and to some degree by the Tuva (headed by Potapov), and the Khorezm (headed by Tolstov) archeological-ethnographic expeditions, as well as the Prut-Onester Combined Expedition. The Combined Expedition for the study of changes in the social-cultural way of life of the peoples of the USSR during the period of transition from socialism to Communism in the field season of 1960 worked in 15 detachments, eight of which studied the Russian population, three -- the peoples of the Caucasus, the remaining ones -- the Belorussians, Karelians, Kalmyks and Buryats. We should mention the significance of the work done by the Adygey detachment, which collected materials on the subject "culture and way of life of the kolkhoz peasantry of the Adygey autonomous region," the Western detachment, which studied the culture and way of life of the Belorussians and the Polish population in the Grodnenskaya and Brestskaya oblasts of the Belorussian SSR, national inter-relations in the past and present. The incipient project on studying the

Russian population of Western Siberia is also a source of great interest.

Interesting and necessary work in attracting students from the upper grades into ethnographical work was done by the detachment studying the life of the workers of Sormova and Vyksa (Gor'kovskaya oblast). This detachment was made up of members of the Young Travelers and Explorer's Club of the Moskvoretzskiy rayon of the city of Moscow. The results of this work will aid in incorporating elements of ethnographical science into the school system. Detachments of the Central Asian and Khorezm Expeditions worked in many kolkhozes of Turkmeniya, Kara-Kalpakkiya and Uzbekistan, gathering material which testified to the new phenomena which are taking place in the present-day life of the kolkhoz workers of Central Asia, on the dying out of the survivals of family-tribal peculiarities among the Uzbeks and Turkmens, on the processes of the merging of small ethnographic groups with large socialist nations. In order to study the modern culture and way of life of the kolkhoz peasantry of Central Asia, stationary operations were conducted also in several kolkhozes ("Kommunism" in Samarkandskaya oblast, Uzbek SSR, kolkhoz imeni Maxim Gor'kiy of the Turtkul'skiy rayon of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR). The basic task of the Northern Expedition as in preceding years consisted in the comprehensive study of the contemporary status of the peoples of the North, their history and culture -- with the aim of aiding in working out specific measures for the further improvement of the economy and culture of these peoples and improvement in their everyday life. In the above expeditionary studies members of the Belorussian SSR AS Institute of Ethnography the Krasnodar Pedagogical Institute, the USSR AS Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House), the Adygey Scientific Research Institute, the Kostroma Oblast Museum, etc., took an active part. Particular attention should be devoted to the initiative of the USSR AS Institute of the History of the Arts in forming a combined expedition for studying folk art of the peoples of the USSR; the first successful experiment done by this expedition was a study made in the Trans-Baikal by the Institute of the History of the Arts jointly with the Institute of Ethnography. On the whole, the study of the modern day in 1960 occupied the most important place in the field expeditional work of the Institute of Ethnography. The materials gathered by the expeditions made it possible for the Institute to lend practical aid to several government institutions, particularly the RSFSR Ministry of Health -- in the matter of improving health conditions for the aboriginal population of the North, the Institute of Labor of the USSR

Council of Ministers State Committee -- on questions of labor and wages, in solving certain problems of displacing national labor resources and making use of their work habits, etc.

Of the works which were published in 1960 on the above problems, we should first of all mention the monograph by Terent'yeva "the kolkhoz peasantry of Latvia" and the collection (edited by Dolgikh) "Modern Economy, Culture and Way of Life of the Minor Peoples of the North." The monograph by Terent'yeva is the result of years of field and archive research by the author and is the first modern ethnographical study of the Latvian people. It examines from the historical aspect the traditional branches of economy of the Latvian peasantry and the tremendous changes in a social-economic, cultural and every day respect which have taken place in Latvia during the years of Soviet authority. The collection which is dedicated to the modern economy, cultural and rural life of the minor peoples of the North is the first publication in recent years which, on the basis of materials furnished by the Northern Expedition, gives a detailed characteristic of the successes of socialist construction among many peoples of the Far North. In 1960 a monograph by Gurvich and Kuzakov, "The Koriak National Okrug" was published, containing rich historic-ethnographical and statistical-economic material, reviewing the past and present of the peoples populating the Koriak National Okrug and outlining future development of the Okrug.

Of the projects completed in 1960 which reflect the problems of the present day, we should mention the collection "Religious Survivals Among the Peoples of the USSR and Means of Overcoming Them" (directed by Krivelev), in which on an ethnographical, chiefly field, materials basis, still existing (Russian, Latvian, Chuvash, the peoples of the Far East and the Far North) various forms of religious survivals are examined, in each individual case an explanation is given of the reasons for their existence and illumination is given to the processes of forming a non-religious way of life. A great achievement is the completion and publication of the general work "Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan" (edited by Tolstov, Abramzon, Zhdanko, Kislyakov) and "Peoples of the Caucasus" of the "Peoples of the World," series, written on the basis of all preceding works of the Institute on this subject. These volumes are the first in the history of ethnographical science which are basic works giving ethnographic characteristics of the multi-national population of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus on a broad historical background, and the great changes in the social-economic and cultural life of

these peoples after the Great October Socialist Revolution are described. Each of the above volumes consists of two parts; the first part of the volume Peoples of the Caucasus -- "Peoples of the North Caucasus" (edited by Lavrov, Nersesov, Kosten, Khashayev) has been published. These books, as other volumes previously published of the "Peoples of the World" series include detailed information on the origin and ethnic history of the peoples, their economy and way of life.. Special attention is devoted to characterizing the processes of forming socialist nations and the processes of ethnic consolidation, the paths of the national development of the peoples being described, after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. These works were created by the Institute in close cooperation with the Academies of Sciences and other scientific institutions of the Republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus. The Expedition projects on problems connected with ethnogenesis and ethnic-history were done in 1960 by the Khorezm Archeological-Ethnographical, Central Asian Ethnographical, Tuva Combined Archeological-Ethnographical, North and Baltic Expeditions. In addition, people from the Institute worked of the Prut-Dnestr Combined Archeological-Ethnographical Expedition. The Khorezm Expedition (headed by Tolstov), which included ten detachments, pursued two goals. On the one hand they continued the years of study on the history of ancient Khorezm, which embraces a tremendous chronological period -- from the neolithic age to the middle ages. During the course of this work excavations were completed of the late Celteminar post of Kavak 7 (end of the third, beginning of the second millenium B.C.) which is the first excavated monument of this time and furnishes important material for studying the economy, culture and social system of the ancient population of the southern Aral region; completed also were studies of an interesting monument of Khorezm of the archaic period (6th-5th centuries B.C.) -- the rural settlement of Dingil'dzhe, which furnished valuable material on the history of architecture and construction, on the economy and material culture of Khorezm of the early slave-holding epoch. The second important item in the expedition's work was the study of the history of the steppe tribes, the so-called barbarian world, which was territory bordered along slave-owning Khorezm and was in close economic and cultural contact with it. These projects were carried out in the South of the Kzyl-Ordynskaya oblast of the Khazak SSR, where previously begun excavations of the town of Chirik-Rabat (6th-2nd centuries B.C.) -- the capital of one of the Sachs tribes (Apasiak) continued, and excavations were completed on a monumental round burial structure -- the tomb of the Apasiak

chiefs. Work continued on the other complex of Apasiak monuments -- Babish-Mulla (4th-2nd centuries B. C.), where large squares of a citadel and living quarters have been uncovered. Finally in the basin of the dry bed of the Syr-Dar'ya -- Inkar-Dar'ya in the Tegizken natural boundary, six kurgans of the 10th to 8th centuries B. C. were excavated, which furnished interesting materials on the history of the culture of the steppe tribes (burial structures of adobe, vessels made on a potter's wheel, etc.), characteristic for the epoch of the transition from the late bronze to the early iron age, that is, from the primitive-communal to the class society.

The Central Asian Expedition (headed by Karmyshev) continued in 1960 a steady ethnographic study of the Samarkand-skaya oblast of the Uzbek SSR in order to collect material for an historical-ethnographic atlas of Central Asia and Kazakhstan on the basic subjects stipulated by the atlas outline. The Tuva Expedition (headed by Potapov) completed in 1960 its fourth field season and had tremendous success in studying the burial ground of Kokel' (Sutkholskiy rayon) dating to the time of the Huns. The burial ground furnished unique material which, thanks to the well-preserved state of the wooden objects, was particularly valuable for characterizing the culture and way of life of the local tribes of the time. Excavations were completed on an ancient Eskimo burial ground in Uelen (Chukotka). The Baltic Combined Expedition (headed by Terent'yeva) continued jointly with the Institute of History and the Ethnographic Museum of the Estonian SSR AS and the Ventspils Ethnographic Museum, studies on the problem "Ethnogenesis and Ethnic History of the Peoples of the Baltic Coast." Several expeditions also included anthropological field work, connected with the solution of ethnogenetic problems -- in the Estonian SSR, on the Yenisey (investigating the Kets), on the Angara (investigating the Russian population), in Armenia (jointly with the Georgian SSR AS Institute of Experimental Morphology), and in Mordva. Several major research projects were published on the above problems by the Institute in 1960, including six books connected with the work of the Expeditions (Russian, Mordva, Khorezm, Kirgiz, Tuva). Materials and studies on the ethnography of the Russian population of the European part of the USSR (Gantskaya, Lebedeva, Maslova, Stanyukovich, Chizhikova) furnished new information on the economy and material culture of the Russian rural population of the West and South-Great Russian Oblasts and the Urals. Volume I of the Works of the Mordva Expedition (edited by Belitser and Kotkov) is devoted to problems of the ethnic history of the Mordva people, its dispersal, anthropological composition, linguistic and ethnographic



characteristics. The volume was written as a result of the joint work of the Institute of Ethnography and the Mordva Scientific Research Institute of Language, History, Literature and Economics. The collective monograph "Lower Reaches of the Amu-Dar'ya, Sarykamysh, Uzboy. History of its forming and settlement" (materials of the Khorezm Expedition, issue No. 3), prepared by the Institute of Ethnography jointly with the USSR AS Institute of Geography (edited by Tolstov and Kes'), on the background of material collected during the course of many years by the Khorezm Expedition, solves the problem, which has been under discussion for more than a century, of the history of the ancient beds of the Amu-Dar'ya, particularly the Uzboy bed. In their history, for several thousand years, the anthropogenetic factor has played an important part -- the use of these beds by man and historical events, particularly wars of ancient times and the middle ages, which took these beds out of the control of man, with which significant changes in their direction had been connected. The work of the Khorezm Expedition of recent years in the lower reaches of the Syr-Dar'ya, in the area of its ancient extensive delta, made it possible to illuminate in a new light the steppe tribes of this region, in particular -- to reassess the traditional conception of the mutual relationships of "nomad" and "settled" peoples in the history of Central Asia, to reassess the very concept of "nomads" and to refute the conception of the age-long enmity between the "nomads" and "settled" world. These works were reflected in several publications, particularly in reports by Tolstov ("Central Asiatic Scythians and Khorezm") and Zhdanko ("The Problem of the Semi-Settled Population in the History of Central Asia and Kazakhstan") at the 25th International Orientalist Congress in Moscow. (An extended variation of Zhdanko's report is published in this issue; the report by Tolstov will be published in the following issue).

Materials of the Khorezm Expedition, issue IV (editors Tolstov and Itina) contain reports on the field work of 1957, devoted to the study of various archaeological monuments of the primordial epoch, the antique period and the middle ages, as well as a study of irrigation systems. The fourth volume of the Works of the Kirgiz Expedition (editor -- Debets) consists of ethnographical and archaeological works dedicated to unexplored problems of the ethnogenesis of the Kirgiz people and in particular the tribal composition of the Northern Kirgiz. The published first volume of the Works of the Tuva Expedition (editor -- Potapov) laid a beginning to the formation of a new compiled work of the history of the Tuva people, and in particular

introduces a scientific approach to the information, essential for ascertaining the ethnic history and cultural ties of Tuva. The first volume of the Works of the Expedition contains materials on the ethnography, archaeology and paleo-anthropology of Western Tuva -- areas which until the present were a blank spot on the archaeological map. Particular interest is aroused by the monograph by Dolgikh "family and tribal composition of the peoples of Siberia in the 17th century," in which the author, using tremendous archival and field material, has given a detailed picture of the population distribution and composition of the aboriginal population of Siberia, on the basis of which it is possible to form a judgment on the further ethnic processes among the peoples of Siberia and their historical fate.

A large-scale study on folklore has been published by Sokolova, Russian Historical Songs of the 16th-18th Century dedicated to one of the most important genres of Russian folklore. This all-encompassing work, which examines the origin and development of historical songs, elucidates their specific features as a genre. In 1960 volume one appeared of Arab sources of the 7th-10th centuries on the ethnography and history of Africa south of the Sahara (editors -- Belyayev and Ol'derogge) and six subject collections: Problems in the History of Primitive Society, Slavic Ethnographic Collection, East Asiatic Ethnographic Collection, American Ethnographic Collection, Anthropological Collection, II and Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Vol. 19. In 1960 the Institute published 26 works with a total volume of more than 550 sheets. The following important studies and publications merit special attention of those published in 1960. On the problem "Origin of Man and the History of Primitive Society," the first issue of the atlas of reconstructions of anthropological types of the ancient population of the USSR was put to press (editor -- Gerasimov), devoted to the paleolithic period. The same problem is handled by the monograph by Averkiyeva, Break Down of the Tribal Organization and Formation of Early Class Relations Among the Indians of the Northwest Coast of North America. The monograph, on the example of the Indian tribes, indicates (as a counter-weight to theories defended by bourgeois scientists) the regularity of the break-down of the tribal structure and the birth of the elements of class society. On the problem "Questions of Ethnogenesis, Ethnic Composition and Formation of Nations" a monograph was completed by Ivanov, the Pharsee tribes, an historical-ethnographical essay with detailed characteristics of these tribes which played an important role in the social-political life of Iran. Issue number 5 has been printed of Materials of the Khozem Expedition (editor -- Tolstov), containing archaeological

anthropological materials of the burial grounds of Kokcha III, a monument of the bronze age, a study of which is extremely significant for determining the ethnic affiliation of the ancient population of the lower reaches of the Amu-Dar'ya and characteristics of its economy and cultural ties with the population of adjoining territories. The following have been submitted to the publishing house: A monograph by Pershits, Economy and Social-Political Structure in Northern Arabia in the 19th-first third of the 20th Century -- the first essay in Soviet and foreign literature on the social-economic history of this country, as well as the first edition of a work by Dolgikh, devoted to the folklore of the peoples of the North, mythological tales and historical legends of the Entsya. Of the works completed in 1959 and published in 1960, it is necessary to note the basic research done by Ivanov, Ornaments of the peoples of Siberia as an historical source. Based on extensive material he attempted to prove that the arts of the peoples of Siberia developed in close contact with the arts of other peoples and reflected the various stages of ethnogenesis in the history of Siberia. The third volume of History of Siberia by Miller has been published, an extremely important source for the history of the Siberian peoples up to the 18th century (the first two volumes of this publication were published before World War II). A dictionary of the African Swahili language is being published (directed by Ol'derogge) as well as six ethnographic collections -- Siberian III, Caucasus III, East Asian II, Indian, African IV, Anthropological III. In 1960 the Institute did much work in drawing up and publishing ethnic maps. For the first time a large-scale ethnic map of the peoples of the world was created, upon which all peoples are shown in detail. Large-scale maps have been published or are being completed for such important areas of the world as Africa, Asia Minor, Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines.

1960 saw the publication of the Book by Levin, Outlines of the History of Anthropology in Russia. The activities of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography included the beginning reorganization of the departments. Extremely significant is the basic re-exposition of the introductory department, devoted to the origin of man and the history of primitive society. This department plays an important role in scientific-atheist propaganda. New expositions of the department are organized on the organic combination of anthropological material with materials on the history of the formation of human society. In spite of the fact that in view of this work the museum was closed for several months, it is still visited extremely heavily. In five months of 1960 alone about 70,000 per-

sons visited the museum. The museum organized seven exhibits on scientific-atheist and ethnographic subjects in palaces of culture and parks in Leningrad. Great interest was aroused by the exhibit "Culture and Way of Life of the Peoples of Africa," held in Moscow in the Polytechnical Museum. In 1960 the museum acquired new ethnographic collections, from which particular value is possessed by the collection from the Mokhendzho-Daro excavations, presented as a gift by the director general of the Archeological Service of India, Dr. Gosh. An outstanding feature of the operations of the Institute in 1960 is the fact that it has presented as never before ethnographic science at international conferences and congresses, at all-union conferences in our country. Soviet ethnographers have participated in the work of the Sixth International Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnographers, which took place at the beginning of August 1960 in Paris, in the work of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow (August 1960), in the work of the Congress of Finno-Ugrologists (Budapest, September 1960). As a result of the great preparatory work, the Institute presented reports at these congresses, reflecting the basic achievements of Soviet science on important theoretical problems, with clear-cut methodological lines and comprehensive conclusions, which aroused great interest on the part of delegates at the congresses and which aided in establishing closer scientific contacts with the scientists of other countries, particularly Asia, Africa and Latin America. (For a report on the Sixth International Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnographers, see Sovetskaya Etnografiya, 1961, No. 1, pgs. 151-161; on the 25th International Congress of Orientalists -- Sovetskaya Etnografiya, 1960, No. 6, pgs. 146-148 [Work of the Africanistics Section] and the present issue of this magazine, pgs. 117-121).

The Institute participated actively in two scientific sessions of all-union significance. In May 1960, the joint session of the USSR AS Division of Historical Sciences and the Ukrainian SSR AS Division of Social Scientists took place, devoted to results of field research in 1959 and problems of ethnography, anthropology and archeology. The sessions attracted as many as 600 participants from the Republics, krais and oblasts of the USSR and attracted great attention on the part of the public in Kiev, a fact which furthered the broad discussion of the above-mentioned problems and propaganda of ethnographical knowledge. The Institute of Ethnography presented 13 reports at the session, more than half of which were on problems of the modern day; we should note the following general reports: "Building Communism in the USSR and Tasks

of Ethnographical Science" by Tolstov, Terent'yeva on the work of the Combined Expedition in 1959, Zhdanko --

"The Problem of Developing the Socialist Nations of Central Asia on the Path Toward Communism." In March 1960, in Novosibirsk, Tomsk and Irkutsk, the first session organized by the Siberian division and the USSR AS Division of Historical Sciences was held, devoted to problems of history, archaeology and ethnography of Siberia. The session had great significance for the further study of the peoples of Siberia and the coordination of studies for this purpose. The Institute presented at the session ten reports and participated in the work of the sections on problems on the present-day status of the peoples of Siberia, on problems of archeology and anthropology and the ethnogenesis of the Siberian peoples. Potapov read a general report -- "Basic Tasks of the Ethnographic Study of Siberia in View of the Resolutions of the 21st Party Congress" and Dolgikh -- "Basic Problems of Socialist Construction Among the Minor Peoples of the North." (For a report on the session in Novosibirsk, Tomsk and Irkutsk see Sovetskaya Ethnografiya, 1960, No 5, pages 111-117; for the session in Kiev -- the same magazine, 1960, No 6, pgs. 149-153). In addition the Institute participated in the Second Scientific Conference on the history, archaeology and ethnography of the Far East in Vladivostok, where Dolgikh read one of the main reports at the conference -- "Tasks of the Ethnographic Study of the Peoples of the Soviet Far East."